The Authority of the Fathers: Patristic Texts in Early Medieval Libraries and Scriptoria[1]

by Bernice M. Kaczynski

In the 1100s Bernard of Chartres described himself and his contemporaries in words that have since become familiar. He said they enjoyed a legacy bequeathed to them by earlier generations: "We are like dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants. We can see more and farther than our predecessors, not indeed because of the acuteness of our own vision or bodily size, but because we are lifted up and raised on high by their gigantic stature."[2] Over time this vivid image came to describe what many have viewed as a characteristically "medieval" attitude towards authority, particularly towards the authority of the Fathers of the Church. Medieval scholars have often been seen as no more than guardians of an inherited tradition, content to perch comfortably on the shoulders of greater men – on the shoulders of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, and other writers of Christian Antiquity.

[1] This is a revised and annotated version of a paper with the same title, given as the Thirteenth Annual J.R. O'Donnell Memorial Lecture in Medieval Latin Studies at the University of Toronto on 24 March 2006. I thank Michael Herren and his colleagues at the Centre for Medieval Studies for the opportunity to present this work, which is part of a series of inquiries into the production and circulation of patristic texts in the Carolingian Empire. I am also grateful to Prof. Dr. Ernst Tremp, Stiftsbibliothekar, and his colleagues in the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, for assistance in obtaining photographs and for permission to publish them here. The topographical map (Plate 1) was designed by David Arthur.

[2] John of Salisbury (ca. 1115–1180), addressing the contemporary debate on the proper relationship between *antiqui* and *moderni*, gives the quotation. See the *Metalogicon* 3.4, ed. J.B. Hall and K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM 98 (1991), p. 116: "Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantum umeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora uidere, non utique proprii uisus acumine aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subuehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea." The literature on the topos is vast. See Édouard Jeauneau, "*Nani gigantum humeris insidentes*. Essai d'interprétation de Bernard de Chartres," *Vivarium* 5 (1967), 79–99; repr. in Jeauneau, *"Lectio Philosophorum." Recherches sur l'École de Chartres* (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 51–73. For more recent discussion, see Tobias Leuker, "'Zwerge auf den Schultern von Riesen' – Zur Entstehung des berühmten Vergleichs," *MJ* 32 (1997), 71–76.

But this assumption can be challenged. Early medieval scholars, far from being heirs to a tradition, might more readily be seen as its creators. Books were not simply gifts one generation handed to the next. The transposition of the textual culture of late antiquity to the libraries and writing-rooms of early Europe was complex; it was sustained and of long duration. Throughout the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, books moved northward across the Alps, in erratic and often incomprehensible patterns.[3] These were important years in the cultural history of the West, and they were formative in the determination of patristic authority.

It is clear that the scholars of early medieval Europe did not inherit the arrangement of Latin Fathers familiar to us now – that is, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory the Great, nor did they inherit a list of works that made up a canon. In their own time, the writers of Christian antiquity had been a quarrelsome lot, and each had had his critics. The language used to describe them was varied: "Fathers," "Teachers," "Doctors," "Defenders of the Faith." The ways of classifying them were varied too. In a letter of about 600 written by Bishop Licinianus of Cartagena to Pope Gregory the Great, it was Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory of Nazianzus who were called "the holy ancient Fathers, the teachers and defenders of the Church." Elsewhere, in about 680, a Milanese bishop wrote a letter to the emperor mentioning four Greek and four Latin witnesses to the faith. He placed in the first group Athanasius, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria; and, in the second, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.[4]

The Venerable Bede seems to have been the first to have arranged the Latin Fathers in a distinctive group of four: Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and – of special interest to the English – Pope Gregory the Great. Bede put forward the fourfold arrangement in his commentaries on the Gospels of Luke and Mark, written in the early 700s.[5] The texts circulated widely in

[3] For a stimulating account of the phenomenon, see L.D. Reynolds, "Introduction," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), pp. xiii–xliii (with an emphasis on classical texts).

[4] For references to the sources mentioned here and for further discussion of the terminology, see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 4 vols. (Westminster, MD, 1950–1986), 1: 9–12, and Berthold Altaner and Alfred Stuiber, *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, 8th ed. (Freiburg, 1978), pp. 3–6. See also the essential discussion of Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 2 vols. in 4 (Paris, 1959–64), 1:26–32.

[5] On this theme, see Bernice M. Kaczynski, "Bede's Commentaries on Luke and Mark and the Formation of a Patristic Canon," in *Anglo-Latin and its Heritage: Essays in Honour*

England and on the continent, but Bede's was not the only such list, and the inclusion of Gregory, especially, was variable.

The process of canon formation was the work of generations of scholars. It is part of the story of the textualization of Latin Christianity, of the efforts of so many very different kinds of people who studied and commented on Sacred Scripture. A consensus emerged over time. Bede's notion of four Fathers, calqued on the list of the four Evangelists, spread through writing-rooms and libraries in the monasteries of the Frankish kingdoms. By the eleventh century, it had become commonplace for writers to associate the four Fathers with the four major prophets, the four senses of Scripture, the four cardinal virtues. Indeed, the quaternary symbols of the Bible came to be applied quite generally, to four rivers, four winds, four shores, four corners of the world.[6] In a decretal of 20 September 1295, Pope Boniface VIII gave them official recognition when he instructed the faithful to celebrate Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory the Great as "preeminent Fathers of the Church."[7]

The scholars of the early Middle Ages, then, did not inherit a patristic canon. They helped to shape it. What they received from their predecessors was an abundance of texts. Some sense of this can be gleaned from the eleven volumes of the paleographer E.A. Lowe's collection of Latin manuscripts copied before 800 and supplemented by Bernhard Bischoff, Virginia Brown, and James J. John.[8] About 2,000 Latin manuscripts and

of A.G. Rigg on his 64th Birthday, ed. Siân Echard and Gernot R. Wieland, Publications of *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 17–26.

[6] The *Glossa ordinaria* confirms the symbolism. See de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, p. 29.

[7] *Corpus iuris canonici*, *Liber sextus decretalium*, lib. 3, tit. 22, cap.1: "Egregios quoque ipsius Doctores ecclesiae, beatos Gregorium, qui meritis inclytis sedis apostolicae curam gessit, Augustinum et Ambrosium, venerandos antistites, ac Hieronymum, sacerdotii praeditum titulo, eximios confessores summis attollere vocibus, laudibus personare praecipuis et specialibus disponit honoribus venerari." Cited by Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1985), p. 218.

[8] E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols. and Supplement (Oxford, 1934–71); Bernhard Bischoff and Virginia Brown, "Addenda to *Codices Latini antiquiores* <I>," *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985), 317–66; Bernhard Bischoff, Virginia Brown, and James J. John, "Addenda to *Codices Latini antiquiores* <II>," *Mediaeval Studies* 54 (1992), 286–307. To the 1884 items listed by the editors of *CLA*, we may add at least twenty-nine papyri from Herculaneum described by Paolo Radiciotti, "Osservazioni paleografiche sui papiri latini di Ercolano," *Scrittura e Civiltà* 22 (1998), 353–70. For a survey of the manuscripts in their cultural context, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 190–201 ("The Early Middle Ages").

manuscript fragments from this early period survive today. Of course it is impossible to give exact statistics of authors and works, but the pattern seems consistent from one volume of *CLA* to the next. The largest group of surviving manuscripts comprises the works of Latin Church Fathers. Patristic writings make up over 50 percent of the items. They are followed by large groups of biblical and liturgical manuscripts, with secular works forming a very small proportion of the whole. Smaller still is the proportion of classical literary texts.[9] These statistics are not new, but they are worth considering.

The sheer size of the patristic deposit, I think, has made modern scholars wary of approaching it. The long lists of names and works, the problems of attribution and misattribution, the nuisance of distinguishing complete works from fragments, the arcane and endless permutations of texts in the florilegia – these things are discouraging. And it can be difficult even to enumerate the items in medieval booklists with any precision. Descriptive terms like *volumen*, *codex*, and *liber* may be absent, or may shift in meaning, even within the catalogues of a single library.[10] Patristic materials are particularly susceptible to misinterpretation, because they are transmitted in so many variable forms – Jerome's prologues along with the relevant biblical books, as well as separate sets of his commentaries, for example, or collections containing one or two letters of Augustine along with other patristic works. Sometimes, too, patristic sources come to us through the mediation of figures who seem strange and remote – remoter even than the Fathers themselves. What are we to make, for instance, of Eugippius and his massive compendium of extracts from the writings of Augustine?[11] Such works

[9] For some interesting calculations of the survival of classical works, see Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. xv–xvi.

[10] On this problem, see Johannes Duft, "Die Handschriften-Katalogisierung in der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen vom 9. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert," in Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen: Codices 1726–1984 (14 –19. Jahrhundert)*, (St. Gall, 1983), 9*–99*, at p. 14*. See Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 58–60, for a comparison of the descriptive terminology in continental and Anglo-Saxon booklists.

[11] Eugippius (ca. 455–ca. 535) collected extracts from Augustine's writings and arranged them in a way that emphasized their use in the exposition of Scripture. It was a massive work, some one thousand pages in length. The *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*, ed. P. Knöll CSEL 9.1 (1885), is now sadly outdated, and a new critical edition would be welcome. On Eugippius generally, see James J. O'Donnell, "Eugippius," in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), pp. 338–39. Also of interest in this context: Joseph T. Lienhard, "Florilegia," in *Augustine through the Ages*, pp. 370–71.

present another set of complications.[12]

It is the very exuberance of the manuscript transmission, however, that makes the point. People in the early Middle Ages preserved and copied and reworked the texts because they were stimulated by them. In Frankish society, in Anglo-Saxon society, there was genuine engagement with the works of Christian Antiquity. The Frankish emperor himself was interested in Augustine. As Einhard famously observed in his *Life of Charles the Great*, Charles was fond of Augustine's books, "especially the one entitled *The City of God*," and liked to have it read to him as he ate his dinner.[13]

Nowadays, of course, the mention of Church Fathers probably makes more people think of duty than of pleasure. Perhaps it should not be surprising that many scholars content themselves with generalities. E.A. Lowe himself, surveying the items in *CLA*, remarks that they reflect "the usual medieval predilection for the Church Fathers."[14] Medievalists very often resort to such phrases as "the usual patristic texts" when, for example, they summarize the contents of libraries. But it is evident that, in the matter of patristic texts, the Carolingians had literally hundreds of choices available. So in fact it is perfectly reasonable to ask: who were "the usual" authors? What were "the usual" texts? And how did they become so?

One way to move beyond generalities is to look at the manuscripts. It has long been commonplace for scholars surveying centres of Carolingian learning to attempt to tabulate the presence of patristic material. And certainly, modern editions of patristic texts draw attention to the important Carolingian books. There are limits to the usefulness of such editions though, because their editors are naturally concerned to identify the oldest and best witnesses to the text. They do not necessarily convey to the reader information about the other manuscripts that contain it. Fortunately a new research instrument promises more ready access to the manuscript tradition of at least one Church Father. The Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter, based in Vienna, is preparing inventories of

[12] Historians of the classical tradition, on the other hand, seem to have a more direct route to their sources. Editors in search of Roman literary texts may occasionally pursue their quarry through medieval commentaries, grammars, and glossaries, but rarely must they contend with such vexing and multiple routes of transmission.

[13] *Vita Caroli Magni* 24, in MGH Rer. Germ. 1.29: "Delectabatur et libris sancti Augustini praecipueque his qui de ciuitate dei praetitulati sunt." Moreover, Alcuin tells us that Charles kept many of Augustine's works in the court library; see Bernhard Bischoff, "Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen," in *Mittelalterliche Studien* 3 (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 149–69, at p. 150.

[14] *CLA* 7:vi.

all known manuscripts of the works of Augustine.[15] Nine volumes have appeared so far, with several more in progress, and these books will make it possible to do new kinds of research on Augustine's medieval afterlife. The realm of patristic manuscripts is vast, and there are many discoveries still to be made.

I should like to begin with the assumption that the decision to copy manuscripts was an active one: that to copy some books meant that there would not be the time or the resources to copy others; that choices had to be made about what would be copied and what would not; and that these choices had consequences, for they determined what might come to be considered a desirable, or possibly even a canonical, complement of texts.

It makes sense, then, to look more closely at the role of the scholars, editors, and scribes who organized the writing projects. For the most part, they were members of religious communities. The production of manuscripts was primarily, though not exclusively, a monastic phenomenon. As Rosamond McKitterick remarks, "it is clear that the monasteries, as centres of book production, played a vital part in the promotion of the written word."[16] They were guided in their work by the Rule of St. Benedict. Benedict had encouraged his monks to read the expositions of Scripture by those he called the "reputable and orthodox catholic Fathers."[17] In the final chapter of the Rule he wrote that "for anyone hastening on to the perfection of monastic life, there are the teachings of the holy Fathers, the observance of which will lead him to the very heights of perfection. What page, what passage of the inspired books of the Old and the New Testaments is not the

[15] Nine volumes of *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus* have appeared to date, surveying the libraries of Italy; Great Britain and Ireland; Poland (with an appendix on Denmark, Finland, and Sweden); Spain and Portugal; Federal Republic of Germany; Austria; the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic; Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands; Switzerland. Still in preparation are volumes on France, the former German Democratic Republic, Hungary, and Russia. The publisher is the Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, whose website provides information on the current status of the project: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kvk/.

[16] *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 167.

[17] *Regula S. Benedicti* 9; see *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. Timothy Fry, associate eds. Imogen Baker *et al.* (Collegeville, MN, 1981), pp. 204–5. See also the essential discussion by Jean Leclercq, "The Ancient Traditional Spirituality," in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York, 1961; repr. 1988), pp. 89–111.

truest of guides for human life? What book of the holy catholic Fathers does not resoundingly summon us along the true way to reach the Creator?"[18]

The work of copying manuscripts was carried out across early Europe, from Anglo-Saxon England in the West to the far reaches of the Carolingian Empire in the East (see Plate 1). These centres were scenes of a remarkable development that began around the year 800. Their scriptoria, or writing-offices, began to copy increasing numbers of manuscript books, and the rate of production quickened as time went on. About 7,000 manuscripts and manuscript fragments have survived from the late eighth and ninth centuries.[19] It is not known how many manuscripts were in circulation at the time, though Bernhard Bischoff once gave an estimate of about 50,000.[20]

There are many questions one might ask about the production of patristic texts. What lay behind the copying of texts at any particular scriptorium? What, precisely, was copied, and when? Did centres specialize – were there, in other words, "pockets of production" for rarer works?[21] And there is another issue. Early medieval scholars inhabited a world that was very different from the one known to the early Church Fathers. Theirs was a manuscript culture. To what extent did the distinctive features of early medieval intellectual life imprint themselves on the patristic sources? These are large questions, impossible to answer fully in the brief span of a scholarly essay. What I hope to demonstrate here is that they are questions worth pursuing, for the early medieval scriptoria offer a unique perspective on the history of patristic authority.

The experience of one institution suggests some of the possibilities. The Benedictine abbey of St. Gall was an important centre for the production and circulation of books throughout much of the Carolingian period, and its records are exceptionally complete. The abbey has several types of evidence for an inquiry into the provision of patristic texts. There

[18] *Regula S. Benedicti* 73; see *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English*, pp. 294–97. The books Benedict seems to have meant were those that guided the monastic life – the works of John Cassian, for example.

[19] The figure is given by Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 208. For a survey of the manuscripts in their cultural context, see pp. 202–11 ("The Carolingian period"). The essential catalogue is Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Birgit Ebersperger, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998, 2004, and forthcoming).

[20] Cited in McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, p. 163.

[21] The expression "pockets of production" is McKitterick's. See *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, p. 19.

are the manuscripts.[22] Over three hundred of them remain – a very high number to have survived from a single place.[23] There are ninth-century library catalogues and booklists.[24] There is a bibliographical guide to patristic literature written in 885 by Notker the Stammerer, and there are marginal notes in his hand in some of the manuscripts that contain patristic material.[25] There are, finally, many details in the manuscripts of St. Gall that show us how they were used by monastic scholars.[26]

The abbey traces its beginnings to a sentimental foundation date of 612, when the Irish pilgrim Gall set himself up in a hermit's cell in the valley of the Steinach. The earliest record of an organized community of monks on the site dates from 719, with the installation of Otmar, the first abbot.[27] The place got off to a slow start; under Charles the Great it seems to have been

[22] Albert Bruckner, *Scriptoria medii aevi helvetica: Denkmäler schweizerische Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, vols. 2 and 3 (Geneva, 1936–1938). The nineteenth-century catalogue by Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle, 1875; repr. Hildesheim, 1975), is at long last being replaced. See Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Bd. 1: Abt. IV: Codices 547–669: Hagiographica, Historica, Geographica, 8–18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 2003), and Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Bd. 2: Abt. III/2: Codices 450–546* (Wiesbaden, in preparation). The Codices Electronici Sangallenses (CESG) project, directed by Christoph Flüeler, is making digital reproductions of manuscripts available online: http://www.cesg.unifr.ch.

[23] Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 208. Bischoff notes that the only centre to have more manuscripts is Tours, with some 350 surviving specimens. Forty-five of them are (or were) pandects.

[24] The medieval catalogues are edited by Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* (Munich, 1918), 1:55–148. See also Duft, "Die Handschriften-Katalogisierung," pp. 9*–26*.

[25] Erwin Rauner, "Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio de illustribus uiris'. Teil I: Kritische Edition," *MJ* 21 (1986), 34–69. There is an earlier edition by Ernst Dümmler, *Das Formelbuch des Bischofs Salomo III. von Konstanz* (1857; repr. Osnabrück, 1964), pp. 64–78. For Notker's hand in the manuscripts, see Susan Rankin, "'Ego itaque Notker scripsi'," *Revue bénédictine* 101 (1991), 268–98. For more on Notker and patristics, see Bernice M. Kaczynski, "Reading the Church Fathers: Notker the Stammerer's *Notatio de illustribus viris*," *JMLat* 17 (2007), in press.

[26] See, for instance, Beat von Scarpatetti, "Schreiber-Zuweisungen in St. Galler Handschriften des achten und neunten Jahrhunderts," in *Codices Sangallenses: Festschrift für Johannes Duft zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Ochsenbein and Ernst Ziegler (Sigmaringen, 1995), pp. 25–56.

[27] For a brief historical survey, see Johannes Duft, "Geschichte des Klosters St. Gallen im Überblick vom 7. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert," in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter: Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Ochsenbein (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 11–30, 223–230.

relatively obscure. The scriptorium came into operation in the mid-700s. In the 820s, as a result of the favour of the emperor Louis the Pious, the scriptorium, library, and school enjoyed a period of expansion. Thereafter St. Gall enjoyed the patronage of the east Frankish kings, especially Louis the German, second son of Louis the Pious, who appointed its abbot Grimald as his chancellor and archchaplain. The abbacies of Grimald (841–872) and his successor Hartmut (872–883) marked a turning-point in the history of the abbey. Both men sought to supply the library with books, and the scriptorium flourished. The era of the two abbots is known today by the lovely phrase *die erste Blütezeit*, or first flowering, of the abbey.[28]

What did this mean for the provisioning of patristic texts? I should like to compare two phases of scribal activity: the first from about 750 to 840, and the second from about 841 to 920. The initial phase moved slowly. From about 750 to 820 some forty manuscripts survive.[29] About half of them contain patristic material. Three manuscripts are dedicated to works of Gregory the Great. One manuscript is dedicated to Prosper; five are dedicated wholly to Jerome. The remaining manuscripts contain patristic texts, but they are either excerpts from works of several authors or they are prologues of Jerome copied in biblical manuscripts alongside biblical texts.[30]

From about 820 to 840 the rate of production quickened. Some seventy manuscripts survive.[31] These were the years of Abbot Gozbert (816–837). Nearly half contain patristic material. There is an increase in the number of manuscripts dedicated to the works of a single author: two are dedicated to Ambrose, five to Augustine, one to Prosper, one to Origen. Fifteen are dedicated to Jerome. The remaining books contain either excerpts from the

[28] See the important study by Beat von Scarpatetti, "Das St. Galler Scriptorium," in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter*, pp. 31–67, 231–37, at pp. 50–55.

[29] See Bruckner, *Scriptoria* 2:14–26, and Scarpatetti, "Das St. Galler Scriptorium," pp. 44–48. The manuscripts are being newly catalogued; for current updates on individual items, consult the CESG website (see n. 22 above).

[30] These are rough-and-ready calculations, based primarily on the items listed in Bruckner's *Scriptoria* 2:53–83, but they will do to demonstrate general trends. Manuscripts that contain texts by the Fathers, all now in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek:

Gregory the Great: MSS 210, 212, 217(I).

Prosper: MS 185.

Jerome: MSS 109, 120, 125, 126, 127.

Other patristic texts: MSS 11, 40(I), 40(II), 44(I), 125, 133, 189, 213, 216, 238, 907.

[31] See Bruckner, *Scriptoria* 2:26–30, and Scarpatetti, "Das St. Galler Scriptorium," pp. 48–50.

writings of several authors or prologues of Jerome copied in biblical manuscripts.[32]

For examples of manuscripts from this time, one copied in St. Gall itself, the other an early import, see Plates 2 and 3. Stiftsbibliothek, MS 109 was copied in St. Gall between 760 and 780. It is a large codex, 524 pages in length, and contains Jerome's *Commentary on the Psalms* (see Plate 2). Stiftsbibliothek, MS 110, on the other hand, was copied under Bishop Egino of Verona (796–799) either in Verona or in Reichenau by scribes from Verona. It too is a characteristic book of the early period, for it is a collection of excerpts from patristic writers, mostly from Jerome, Benedict, and Augustine (see Plate 3).

A different way to look at the same material is to list the number of manuscripts containing texts by a particular author. In this way, the count can include authors represented in collections of excerpts. The figures are approximate, for patristic materials are transmitted in variable forms, and more precise identification and dating of the manuscripts must await publication of the new catalogues. But if we reassemble the figures given above, and add the number of times particular authors are cited by name in codices containing works by more than one Father, we come up with a consistent pattern. At least thirty-eight manuscripts dating from about 750 to 840 include the writings of Jerome. Some fourteen include the writings of Augustine. Nine manuscripts contain works by Gregory the Great. Three manuscripts include works by Ambrose, and another three include works by Prosper. Origen appears in two books. Athanasius and John Chrysostom are represented in one manuscript each.[33]

[32] These are again rough-and-ready calculations, based primarily on Bruckner's *Scriptoria* 2:53–83. Manuscripts that contain texts by the Fathers, most now in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek:

Ambrose: MSS 94, 99.

Augustine: MSS 143, 146, 168, 170, 180.

Prosper: MS 186.

Origen: MS 87.

Jerome: MSS 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 128, 129, 191, and Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 41.

Other patristic texts: MSS 14, 28, 29, 39, 43, 90, 105, 130, 145, 224, 241, 255, 422.

[33] These are again rough-and-ready calculations, based primarily on Bruckner's *Scriptoria* 2:53–83. To the figures listed in notes 30 and 32 above have been added the following manuscripts, which contain texts by more than one Father:

Jerome: MSS 11, 14, 28, 39, 40(I), 40(II), 43, 44(I), 90, 125, 130, 133, 145, 189, 216, 238, 241, 255.

Augustine: MSS 11, 29, 125, 145, 213, 224, 241, 422, 907.

Whatever the method of reckoning used – and all are provisional – it is clear that Jerome's works were the most frequently copied. Jerome's prologues were transcribed alongside the relevant biblical books, and his commentaries were copied in separate volumes. The most likely explanation for the interest in Jerome is that during this time the abbey's scholars were concerned to secure the text of the Bible. Their priorities are reflected in the mid-ninth-century library catalogue, the *Breviarium librorum*. The very first entry in the catalogue reads "Bibliotheca una," and shows that, by the time of its composition, the library had acquired the pandect, a manuscript copy of the whole Bible – something that cannot be taken for granted in Carolingian monasteries.[34] At St. Gall, therefore, Jerome's biblical scholarship formed the earliest patristic substrate.

The second major phase in the history of the scriptorium occurred between 841 and 920.[35] In the years between 841 and 883, Abbots Grimald and Hartmut saw to a rapid increase in the number of manuscripts. Hartmut, especially, was active in the direction of the scriptorium and the acquisition of books for the library. Abbot Solomon III (890–920) continued the policy of expansion. Their activity resulted in great changes, both in terms of the quantity of material copied and in terms of the range of authors and texts represented. The number of manuscripts dedicated to the works of a single author increased. Thirty-four are attributed to Augustine, ten to Gregory the Great, eight to Jerome, six to Ambrose, two to Ephraem, and one each to Clement and Origen. An additional twenty-five manuscripts contain either works by two or three authors or collections of excerpts.[36]

Gregory the Great: MSS 11, 125, 189, 213, 216, 422.
Ambrose: MS 422.
Prosper: MS 29.
Origen: MS 422.
Athanasius: MS 105.
John Chrysostom: MS 190.

[34] St. Gall, Stiftstbibliothek, MS 728, p. 5; printed in Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1:71. The pandect is listed first in the catalogue, followed by individual books of the Old and New Testaments. On the abbey's biblical texts, see Rupert Schaab, "Bibeltext und Schriftstudium in St. Gallen," in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter, pp.* 119–36, 248–53, at pp. 119–24.

[35] See Bruckner, *Scriptoria* 3:24–46, and Scarpatetti, "Das St. Galler Scriptorium," pp. 50–55.

[36] These are rough-and-ready calculations, based primarily on the items listed in Bruckner's *Scriptoria* 3:24–46, but they will do to demonstrate general trends. Manuscripts that contain texts by the Fathers, most now in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek:

If we take into account authors cited by name in the codices containing works by more than one Father, a similar pattern emerges. At least forty-three manuscripts dating from between 841 and 920 include the writings of Augustine. Some fourteen include the writings of Jerome. Eleven contain works by Gregory the Great, and seven contain works by Ambrose. Prosper is represented in three manuscripts, Ephraem in two, and Basil the Great in another two. There is one manuscript each for works by Clement, Cyprian, Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, and Athanasius.[37]

The shift in emphasis is unmistakable. Augustine is now the dominant figure in the scriptorium; works by and about him constitute the largest group of surviving manuscripts.[38] It appears too that the provision of

Augustine: MSS 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 147, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 181, 274, 317.

Gregory the Great: MSS 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 218, 219, 220, 359.

Jerome: MSS 110, 111, 112, 117, 118, 119, 131, 159.

Ambrose: MSS 95, 96, 98, 100 (Ps. Ambrose), 101 (Ps. Ambrose), 102.

Ephraem: MSS 92, 93.

Clement: MS 86.

Origen: MS 88.

Other patristic texts: MSS 69, 89, 90, 97, 103, 132, 145, 148, 184, 187, 254, 255, 261, 269, 279, 280, 281, 431, 571, 574, 575, 576, 670, 926, and St. Gall, Stadtbibliothek, MS 317.

[37] These are again rough-and-ready calculations, based primarily on Bruckner's *Scriptoria* 3:24–46. To the figures listed in n. 36 above have been added the following manuscripts, which contain texts by more than one Father:

Augustine: MSS 69, 145, 148, 184, 269, 279, 280, 281, 571.

Gregory the Great: MS 670.

Jerome: MSS 90, 132, 145, 254, 255, 261.

Ambrose: MSS 97.

Prosper: MSS 148, 184, 187.

Cyprian: MS 89.

Basil the Great: MS 926 and St. Gall, Stadtbibliothek, MS 317.

Gregory of Nazianzus: MS 89.

John Chrysostom: MS 103.

Athanasius: MS 90.

[38] For a precise listing, see Sara Janner and Romain Jurot, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus* 9: Schweiz. Teil 1: Werkverzeichnis, Teil 2: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken. Unter Mitarbeit von Dorothea Weber. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter 19–20, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 688 (Vienna, 2001), 2:119–158.

Captions for Plates

1. Map. Early Medieval Libraries and Scriptoria. Map designed by David Arthur.

2. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 109, p. 5. Copied in St. Gall between 760 and 780.
Jerome, *In psalmos (1–59)*: "Incipit dispositio sancti Hieronimi presbiteri super Psalmos."

3. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 110, p. 307. "The Egino-Codex." Patristic miscellany, ca. 800.
An excerpt from Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*: "Sancti Augustini principium in decadis."

4. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 162, p. 3. Time of Abbot Grimald (841–872).
Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos (1–35)*. Beginning of Augustine's Commentary on the First Psalm: "Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum."

5. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 728, p. 8. *Breviarium librorum*, or main library catalogue.
Listing of Augustine's works: "De libris sancti Augustini episcopi."

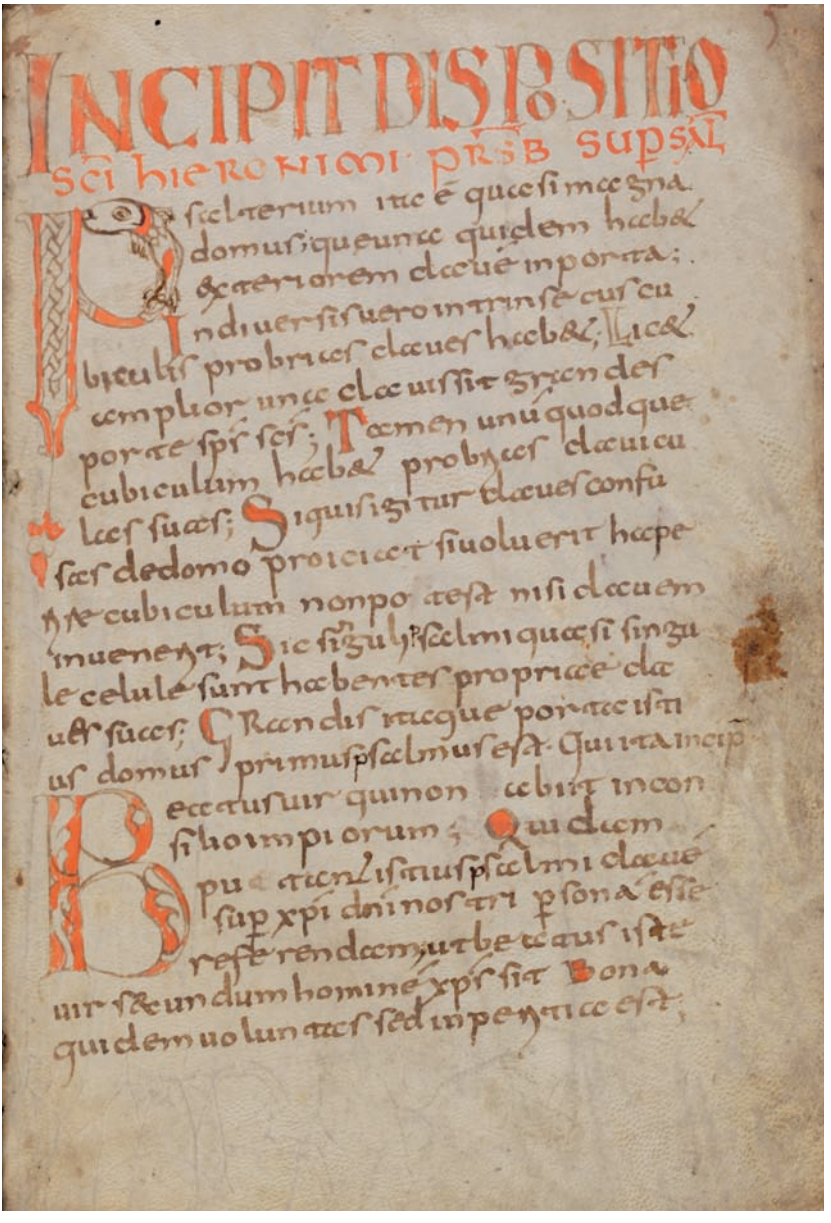
6. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 728, p. 9. *Breviarium librorum*, or main library catalogue.
Listing of Augustine's works, followed by listings of works by Ambrose, Prosper, and Bede.

Lindisfarne
Jarrow
Wearmouth
York
Malmesbury
London
Winchester
Canterbury
Exeter
Landevennec
Lehon
Dol
Redon
Nantes
Noirmoutier
St Philibert-de-Grandlieu
Poitiers
St Maixent
Saintes
Périgueux
Bordeaux
Liebana
Urgel
Gerona
Barcelona
Toulouse
Gellone
Narbonne
Arles
Aix-en-Provence
Lyon
Vienne
Chalon
Autun
Dijon
Nevers
Bourges
Auxerre
Fleury
Tours
Orléans
Le Mans
Chartres
Paris
Meaux
Sens
Troyes
Ferrières
Langres
Luxeuil
Basle
Strasbourg
Murbach
Metz
Rheims
Laon
Rouen
Jumièges
Corbie
Chelles
St Denis
St Wandrille
St Riquier
St Vaast d'Arras
St Bertin
St Amand
Amiens
Lobbes
Nivelles
Maastricht
Utrecht
Osnabrück
Aachen
Liège
Stavelot
Prüm
Echternach
Trier
0
300 Kilometres
0
300 Miles

Plate 1a

Hamburg
Bremen
Verden
Osnabrück
Minden
Utrecht
Münster
Gandersheim
Essen
Corvey
Maastricht
Werden
Hersfeld
Nivelles
Cologne
Aachen
Fulda
St Amand
Liège
Stavelot
Lobbes
Prüm
Mainz
Würzburg
Echternach
Laon
Amorbach
Trier
Rheims
Metz
Lorsch
Regensburg
Meaux
Weissenburg
Haut-
villers
Strasbourg
Freising
Sens
Troyes
Augsburg
Murbach
Langres
Reichenau
Chiemsee
Mondsee
Auxerre
Basle
Tegernsee
Salzburg
Luxeuil
Constance
St Gall
Benediktbeuern
Dijon
Autun
Flavigny
Disentis
Chur
Chalon
Müstair
Lyon
Monza
Cividale
Aquileia
Milan
Vienne
Venice
Verona
Pavia
Nonantola
Bobbio
Ravenna
Arles
Aix-en-Provence
Lucca
Narbonne
Farfa
Rome
San Vincenzo
Monte Cassino
Benevento
Naples
Salerno
300 Kilometres
300 Miles

Plate 1b


INCIPIT DISPOSITIO
SCI HIERONIMI PRSB SUPS
Plate 2

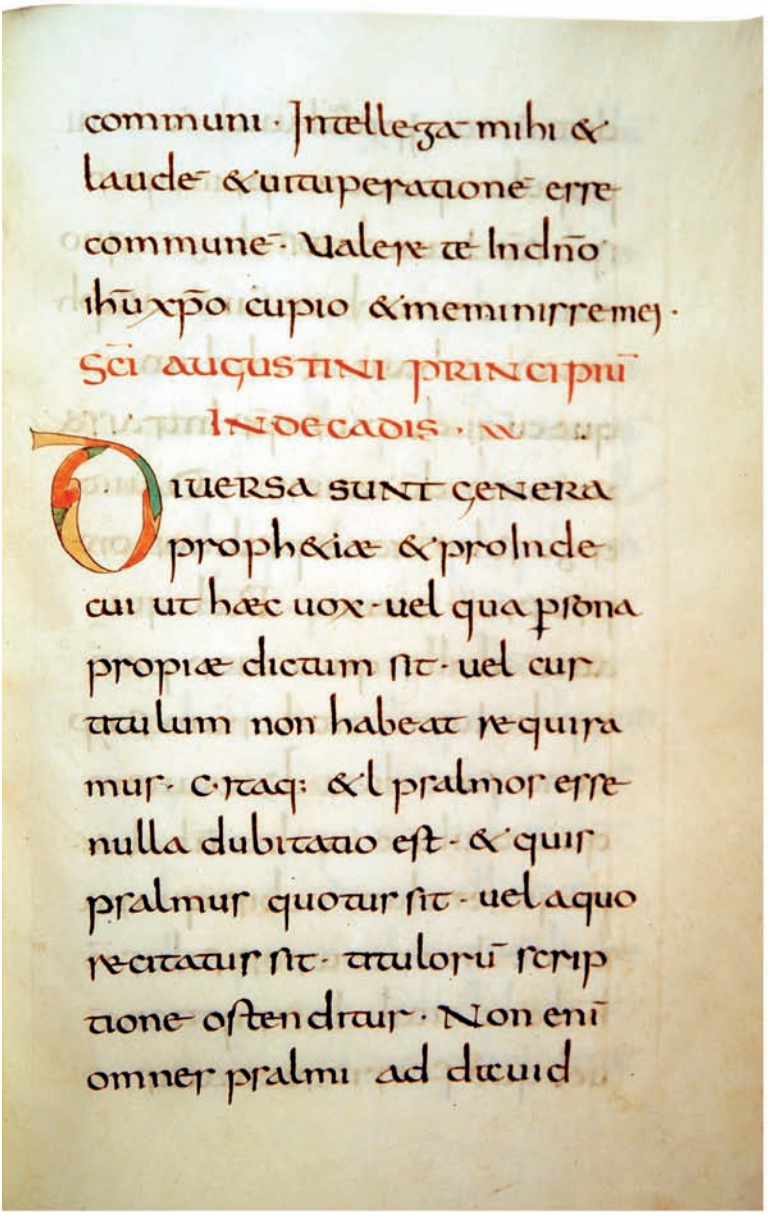
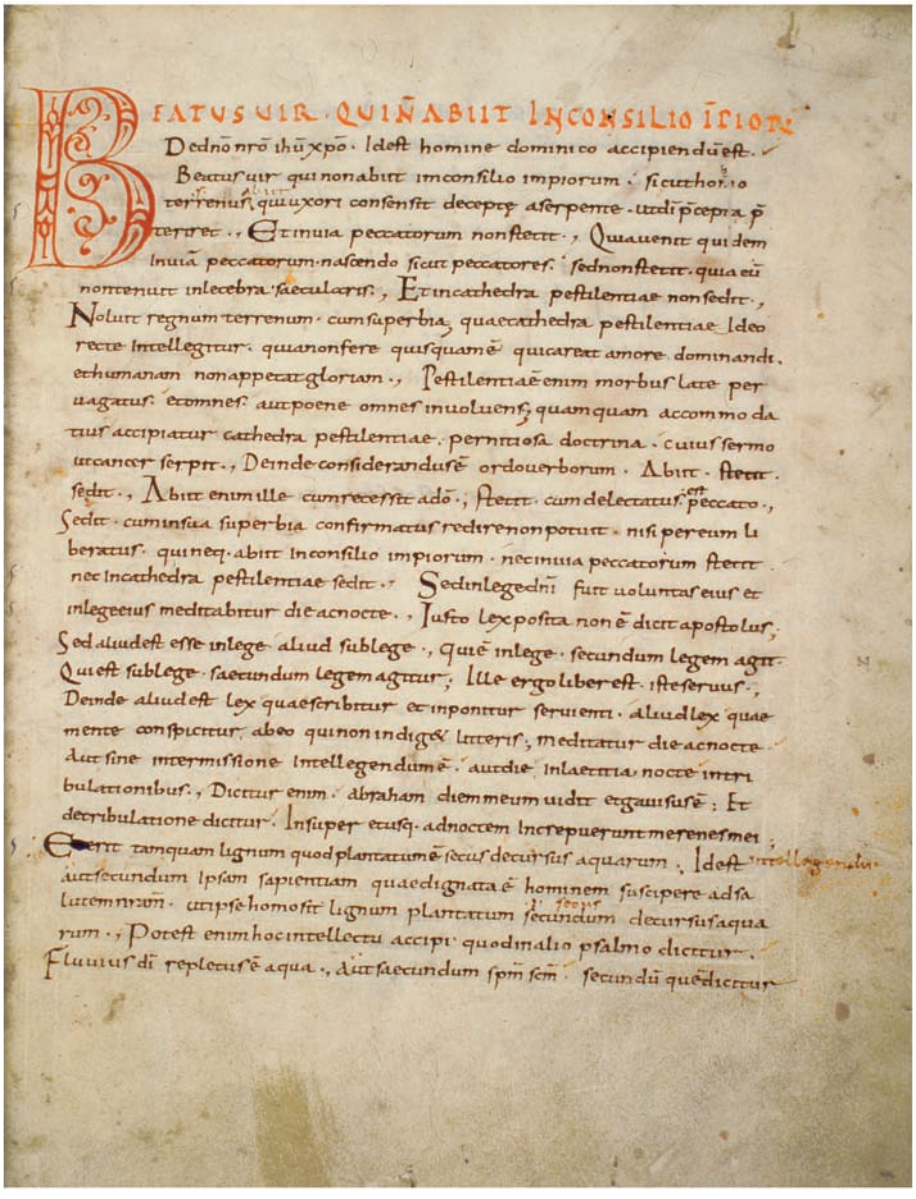

communi · Intellega mihi &
laude & uituperatione esse
commune. Valere te In dño
ihū xpō cupio & meminisse mei ·
Sci augustini principiū
In decadis · xv ·
Diuersa sunt genera
prophetiæ & proinde
cui ut hæc uox · uel qua prōna
propriæ dictum sit · uel cur
titulum non habeat requira
mus · Ceterq; & l psalmos esse
nulla dubitatio est · & quis
psalmus quotus sit · uel a quo
rectatus sit · titulorū scrip
tione ostenditur · Non enī
omnes psalmi ad diuid

Plate 3

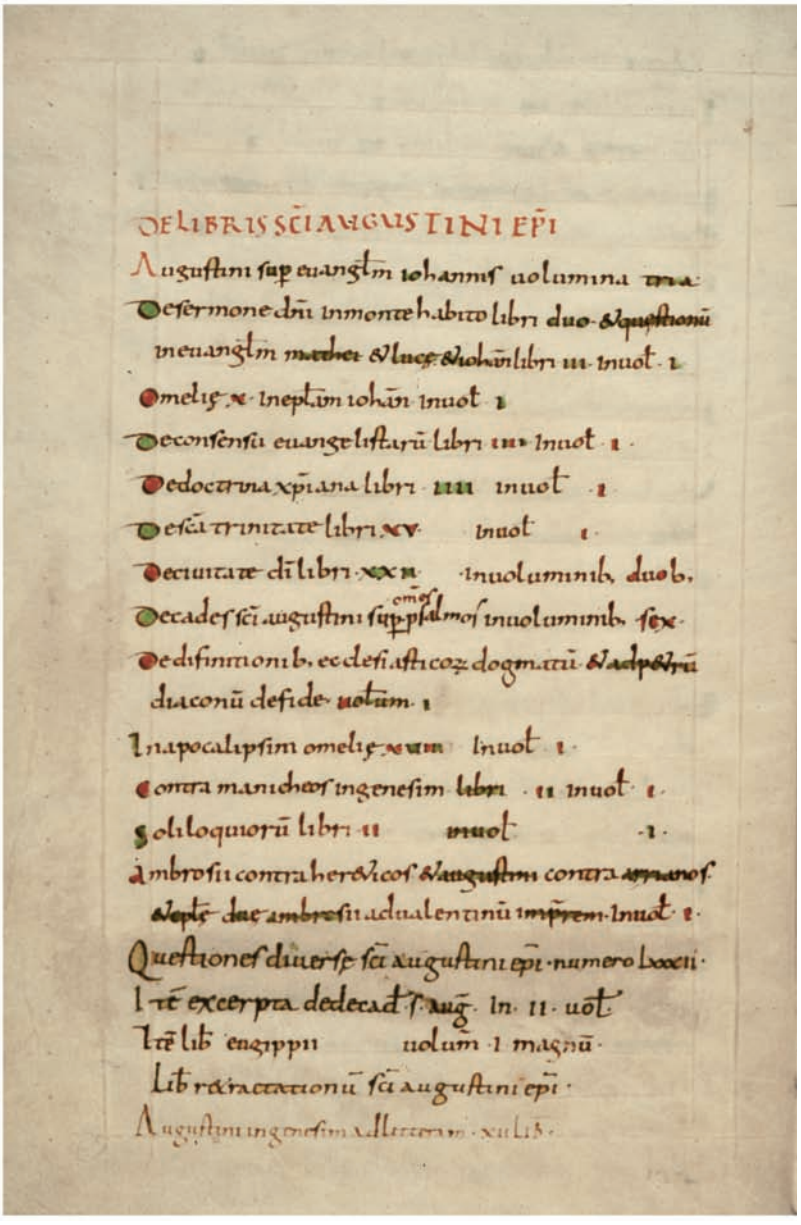

BEATUS VIR QUI NON ABIIT IN CONSILIO IMPIORUM

Dedno nro ihu xpo. Ideſt homine dominico accipiendū eſt.

Beatus uir qui non abiit in conſilio impiorum. ſicut thobias terrenus qui uxori conſensit decepte aſerpente. uidi pcepta p̄ terire ꝛc., Et in uia peccatorum non ſtetit., Quauenit quidem inuiā peccatorum nascendo ſicut peccatores. ſed non ſtetit. quia eū non tenuit inlecebra ſaecularis., Et in cathedra peſtilentiae non ſedit., Noluit regnum terrenum. cum ſuperbia, quae cathedra peſtilentiae. Ideo recte intellegitur. quia nonfere quiſquam ē qui careat amore dominandi. et humanam non appetat gloriam., Peſtilentiae enim morbus late per uagatus. et omnes. aut poene omnes inuoluens, quamquam accommodatius accipiatur cathedra peſtilentiae. pernitiosa doctrina. cuius ſermo ut cancer ſerpit., Deinde considerandus ē ordo uerborum. Abiit. ſtetit. ſedit., Abiit enim ille cum receſſit adō., ſtetit. cum delectatus eſt peccato., Sedit. cum in ſua ſuperbia confirmatus redire non potuit. niſi per eum liberatus. qui neq. abiit in conſilio impiorum. nec in uia peccatorum ſtetit. nec in cathedra peſtilentiae ſedit., Sed in lege dni fuit uoluntas eius. et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte., Iuſto lex poſita non ē dicit apoſtolus, Sed aliud eſt eſſe in lege aliud ſub lege., Qui ē in lege. ſecundum legem agit. Qui eſt ſub lege. ſaecundum legem agitur., Ille ergo liber eſt. iſte ſeruus., Deinde aliud eſt lex quae ſcribitur et inponitur ſeruienti. aliud lex quae mente conſpicitur. abeo qui non indiget litteris., meditatur die ac nocte. dum ſine intermiſſione intellegendum ē. aut die. in laetitia. nocte. in tribulationibus., Dicitur enim. abraham diem meum uidit et gauiſus ē: Et de tribulatione dicitur. Inſuper et uſq. ad nocte m increpuerunt me renes mei;

Et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum ē ſecus decurſus aquarum., Ideſt intellegendum aut ſecundum ipſam ſapientiam quae dignata ē hominem ſuſcipere ad ſalutem nr̄m. utipſe homo ſit lignum plantatum ſecundum decurſus aquarum., Poteſt enim hoc intellectu accipi. quod in alio pſalmo dicitur., Fluuius dī repletus ē aqua., Aut ſecundum ſpm ſcm. ſecundū quē dicitur

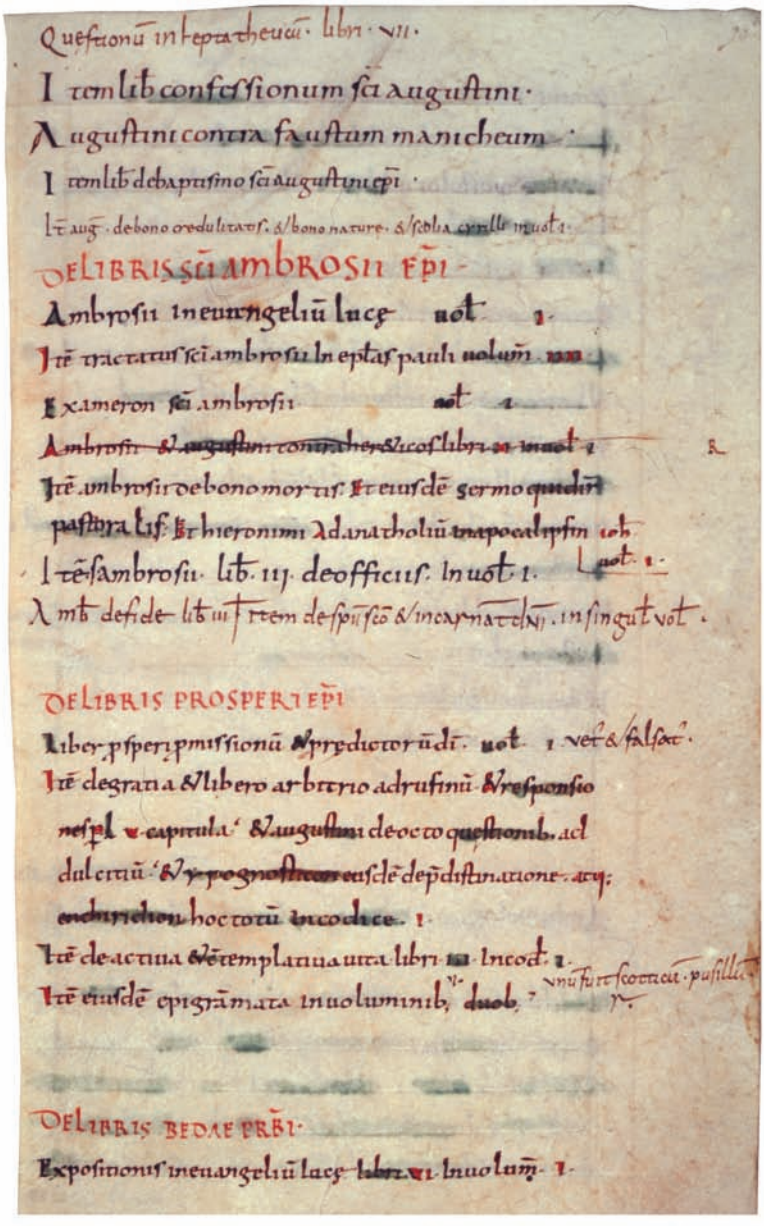
Plate 4



DE LIBRIS SCI AUGUSTINI EPI

Augustini sup euangl'm iohannis uolumina ·iii·
De sermone dñi in monte habito libri duo. & questionū
in euangl'm matthei & luce & iohān libri iii· inuol· i
Omelie ·c· in ep'm iohān inuol· i
De consensu euangelistarū libri iii· inuol· i·
De doctrina xp'iana libri iiii inuol· i
De sc'a trinitate libri xv inuol· i·
De ciuitate dī libri xxii inuoluminib. duob.
De cadem sci augustini sup ps'almos inuoluminib. sex·
De diffinitionib. ecclesiasticoz dogmatū & aduersū
diaconū defide uolūm· i
In apocalipsim omelie xvii inuol· i·
Contra manicheos ingenesim libri ·ii· inuol· i·
Soliloquiorū libri ii inuol· i·
Ambrosii contra hereticos & augustini contra arrianos
& epi duo ambrosii adualentinū imp'rem· inuol· i·
Questiones diuerse sci augustini epi· numero lxxxiii·
In re excerpta de decad s. aug· in· ii· uol·
In re lib· engippii uolum· i· magnū·
Lib· reiractationū sci augustini epi·
Augustini ingenesim ad litteram· xii lib·

Plate 5


Questionū in heptateuchū libr. vii.

I tem lib confessionum sci Augustini.

Augustini contra faustum manicheum.

I tem lib de bapt̄smo sci augustini epi.

Ite aug. de bono oredulitatis. & de bono nature. & scdla contra mast.

DE LIBRIS ꝯ AMBROSII EPI.

Ambrosii in euuangeliū lucę not 1.

Itē tractatus sci ambrosii in epistas pauli nolum̄ iii

Exameron sci ambrosii not 1

~~Ambrosii & augustini contra hereticos libri ii not 1~~

Itē ambrosii de bono mortis. Et eiusdē sermo quidā pastoralis. Et hieronimi ad anatholiū tractatus apocalipsin not.

Itē ambrosii lib. iij. de officiis. In uot 1. not. 1.

Amb de fide lib iii Item de spū scō & incarnatione dn̄i. in singt not.

DE LIBRIS PROSPERI EPI

Liber pperi promissionū & prędictorū dei. not 1 vet & falsat.

Itē de gratia & libero arbitrio ad rufinū & responsiones pl capitula. & augustini de octo quęstionib. ad dulcitiū. & prognosticon eiusdē de p̄destinatione. atq; enchyridion hoc totū in codice. 1.

Itē de actiua & ꝯtemplatiua uita libri iii. In cod. 1.

Itē eiusdē epigrāmata in uoluminib, v. duob. vnū fuit scottici. pusillū. v.

DE LIBRIS BEDAE PRB̄I.

Expositionis in euangeliū lucę libri vi. In uolum̄. 1.

Plate 6

Augustine's works has been carried out with some forethought.[39] The monks seem to have been most interested in works that assisted in the study of Scripture. "What monasticism sought [in the works of the Latin Fathers]," writes Jean Leclercq, "… was all that could be helpful in leading the monastic life."[40]

The treatment of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, or *Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, provides a prime example. It is the longest of his major works, written between 392 and 418. Today it is probably the one of his books that is least read.[41] Not so in the ninth century, for the recitation of the Psalms was an integral feature of communal Benedictine life. The text has already been seen at St. Gall in MS 110, a patristic miscellany (see Plate 3). There it appears in excerpt form, along with selections from works by other Fathers.

By the middle of the ninth century, however, such collections of excerpts were being augmented by more scholarly books. Abbot Grimald directed the scriptorium in a series of ambitious projects, including Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (see Plate 4). Numerous scribes worked on the lengthy text, and in its final form it comprised six volumes: MSS 162–166; the last volume is missing.[42] This page from MS 162 shows part of Augustine's *Exposition* on the First Psalm. The books were intended to be used in study. Marginal notations in the hand of Ekkehard IV (ca. 980–ca. 1060) are to be seen in several of them.[43] Grimald added to the deposit of

[39] For a fuller account of these manuscripts, see Bernice M. Kaczynski, "Reading and Writing Augustine in Medieval St. Gall," in *Insignis sophiae arcator: Medieval Latin Studies in Honour of Michael Herren on his 65th Birthday*, ed. Gernot R. Wieland, Carin Ruff, and Ross G. Arthur, Publications of *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 6 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 107–23.

[40] *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, p. 98. The impulse to collect texts that furthered monastic spirituality also led to the translation of some Greek; see Bernice M. Kaczynski, "A Ninth-Century Latin Translation of Mark the Hermit's *Peri Nomou Pneumatikou* (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr. A 145b)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 89 (1996), 379–88 and plates XIII–XIV.

[41] Michael Cameron, "*Enarrationes in Psalmos*," in *Augustine through the Ages*, pp. 290–96, at p. 290.

[42] For the manuscripts, see Janner and Jurot, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:47–48, 2:132–33; and Bruckner, *Scriptoria*, 3:76–77.

[43] MSS 162, 164, 166. See Bruckner, *Scriptoria*, 3:76–77. For more on Ekkehard IV's marginal notations, see Peter Osterwalder, "*Ekkehardus glossator*. Zu den Glossierungen Ekkehards IV. im *Liber Benedictionum*," in *Variorum Munera Florum. Latinität als prägende Kraft mittelalterlicher Kultur. Festschrift für Hans F. Haefele*, ed. A. Reinle, L. Schmugge, and P. Stotz (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 73–82.

works on the Psalms with Cassiodorus's *Expositio in Psalmos*, or *Commentary on the Psalms*, in three volumes: MSS 201–202.[44] (Cassiodorus's commentary relied upon Augustine's, as he acknowledged in his preface.) The production of two such comprehensive series represented a considerable investment of the abbey's resources. And such an investment shows a commitment on the part of its scholars to engage intensively with the Psalms and their early Christian interpreters.

What of Augustine's more well-known works, the *Confessions*, and *The City of God*? To us, the *Confessions* is Augustine's masterpiece, the most familiar of all his books.[45] Yet in the monasteries of early Europe, relatively few people seem to have read it. Its manuscript tradition is sparse.[46] In the Stiftsbibliothek today, traces of the text survive in only one ninth-century codex. MS 156, pp. 162–64, includes a fragment of *Confessions* 9.23–26.[47] (The manuscript otherwise contains excerpts from Augustine's sermons.) References to the *Confessions* in two of the ninth-century booklists attest to its presence in the medieval library.[48] The transmission of *The City of God*, on the other hand, was very full, both at St. Gall and elsewhere in the Carolingian realms. Because the work was long, it was transmitted in several different forms. The complete text might be copied in multiple codices, parts of it might be contained in a single codex, or – as frequently happened – parts might appear in collections of excerpts. At St. Gall the monks had access to the work in all of these forms.[49] Notker the Stammerer admired it greatly.[50]

Might there have been, in the Carolingian world, "pockets of production" for certain authors or texts? The distribution of Augustine manuscripts is

[44] See Bruckner, *Scriptoria*, 3:81–82.

[45] For an overview of the reception, see Frederick Van Fleteren, "*Confessiones*," in *Augustine through the Ages*, pp. 227–32, at p. 227.

[46] Michael M. Gorman, "The Manuscript Traditions of St. Augustine's Major Works," in *The Manuscript Traditions of the Works of St. Augustine* (Florence, 2001), pp. 315–46, at p. 336.

[47] See Janner and Jurot, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:36, 2:130–31; and Bruckner, *Scriptoria*, 3:75.

[48] Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1:74, 84.

[49] For a listing of St. Gall manuscripts that contain the text or portions of it, see Janner and Jurot, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:33–35. See also Gorman, "A Survey of the Oldest Manuscripts of St. Augustine's *De civitate dei*," in *The Manuscript Traditions*, pp. 178–90, at p. 183.

[50] *Notatio*, line 15, ed. Rauner, "Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio de illustribus uiris'," p. 59. For further discussion of the transmission of the *Confessions* and *The City of God*, see Kaczynski, "Reading and Writing Augustine," pp. 114–21.

certainly spottier than one might initially suppose. The cathedral school of Laon, for instance, had large holdings of his works, but it was without some of the titles most familiar to readers today. It did not have the *Confessions*, *The City of God*, or *On Christian Doctrine*.[51] If there were surprising gaps, there were also surprising concentrations. Michael Gorman observes that early manuscripts of the *Confessions* were limited to the area of the Loire Valley and to centres like Tours, Ferrières, and Auxerre.[52] He remarks on the great diversity of surviving book collections: St. Gall's collection of Augustine's major works, he finds, is "the most complete."[53] St. Gall's collection is exceptional, too, in that it preserves copies of some works rarely found elsewhere.[54]

A review of the St. Gall scriptorium, then, points to a clear shift in priorities before and after the middle of the ninth century. In the first period, the concern was to secure the text of the Bible, and the emphasis was on Jerome, for his textual scholarship and exegesis.[55] A few manuscripts were dedicated to other Fathers, but collections of excerpts were more common. The second period saw the production of a greater number of dedicated volumes representing a greater variety of authors. It also saw the completion of more ambitious projects, such as the set of six volumes that comprised Augustine's commentary on the Psalms, and the set of three that made up the commentary of Cassiodorus. This seems to reflect a more intense and scholarly engagement with the thought and works of the early Church Fathers. It was during this period as well that Notker the Stammerer composed his bibliographical guide to patristic literature.

A comparison of St. Gall with other monasteries, moreover, raises the possibility that there were regional differences in the provision of patristic texts. It therefore becomes more and more difficult to see the Carolingians as people who simply inherited or "received" some well-defined tradition.[56]

[51] John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich, 1978), p. 75.

[52] "The Manuscript Traditions of St. Augustine's Major Works," p. 336.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *De musica*, for instance; see Janner and Jurot, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:9, 80.

[55] See also Bernice M. Kaczynski, "Edition, Translation, and Exegesis: The Carolingians and the Bible," in *"The Gentle Voices of Teachers": Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*, ed. Richard E. Sullivan (Columbus, OH, 1995), pp. 171–85 and frontispiece.

[56] Why do so many scholars seem to subscribe to uniform paradigms for the period? See Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Age: Reflections on Its Place in the History of the

They exercised choices about the books they would copy, and their choices had consequences.

At St. Gall the evidence of the manuscripts is complemented by a series of ninth-century library catalogues.[57] The main catalogue, or *Breviarium librorum*, was drawn up in the middle of the ninth century, with a series of marginal notes added in about 880. The notes comment on the books and their borrowers, and they remind us that an interest in the Fathers extended beyond the monastery walls. For instance, among the borrowers were King Charles III and his wife Richardis. Each had taken a volume of Gregory the Great's homilies, and Richardis also had a copy of Jerome on the Prophets.[58] A second catalogue listed books acquired under Abbot Grimald; a third, books commissioned from the scriptorium for the library by Abbot Hartmut. The private libraries of two abbots were registered in a fourth and fifth. The lists of books acquired for the monastery library by Grimald and Hartmut confirm the impression of the surviving manuscripts, for the dominant author in each is Augustine.[59] The private libraries of the abbots, on the other hand, included few patristic texts.[60]

Medieval library catalogues are naturally attractive to scholars. One of the most interesting recent discussions is that of Rosamond McKitterick, who draws attention to the role of the catalogues in shaping contemporary definitions of knowledge.[61] Ninth-century librarians attempted to standardize the catalogues, and began to arrange their contents in the order of Bibles, church writers, secular writers. Within these classifications, however, the order of the patristic authors remains a puzzle. At St. Gall, the main catalogue, or *Breviarium librorum*, gives them in this sequence: Gregory the Great, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Prosper, Bede, Isidore, Origen,

Middle Ages," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 267–306, at p. 305, who stresses "the cultural plurality that characterized the Carolingian world."

[57] See n. 24, above.

[58] Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1:72–73.

[59] The *Breviarium librorum* presumably included all the books copied or acquired up to the time of its composition, whereas the lists of Grimald and Hartmut reflected more recent acquisitions: Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1:82–86. See also Duft, "Die Handschriften-Katalogisierung," pp. 18*–22*.

[60] Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1:86–89. See also Duft, "Die Handschriften-Katalogisierung," pp. 22*–26*.

[61] *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 165–210. See also Wolfgang Milde, *Der Bibliothekskatalog des Klosters Murbach aus dem 9. Jahrhundert. Ausgabe und Untersuchung von Beziehungen zu Cassiodors "Institutiones,"* Beihefte zum Euphorion, Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte 4 (Heidelberg, 1968).

Pelagius, Cassiodorus, Eusebius (see Plates 5 and 6).[62] These pages from MS 728 show the listings of works by Augustine, Ambrose, Prosper, and Bede. But there were different arrangements elsewhere. Scholars sometimes seem bewildered by the apparently haphazard ordering of the names.[63]

Perhaps the development of a canon of patristic authors was more complex than that of other segments of a Carolingian catalogue because it was more fluid. By the ninth century the order of the biblical books had settled.[64] That canon had been closed. In the same way, the order of classical authors could be set; the store of classical texts was finite. But the canon of Latin Fathers was still in the process of formation.[65] New names – like Bede and Isidore – were being added. Many different scholars took part in the process, and a consensus emerged over time. The Venerable Bede's list of four – Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory – assumed a special status. In the years to come, the notion that there were four great Fathers of the West and four of the East would seem almost commonplace.

The most assiduous reader of patristic texts at St. Gall was Notker the Stammerer, who served as the abbey's librarian and annotated its main catalogue. In 885 he wrote a handbook that has come to us under the name *Notatio de illustribus viris*, or *Notation on Famous Men*.[66] It is the only critical handbook of patristic writing that we have from the Carolingian period.[67]

Notker wrote it in the form of two letters to his pupil Solomon, a newly-ordained deacon who would later become bishop of Constance and abbot of St. Gall. The *Notatio* sets out a plan for the study of Scriptures and other religious subjects. It may be that even Notker occasionally wearied of the Fathers. Though he admired Augustine, he referred several times to his

[62] Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1:72–76.

[63] McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 197–98.

[64] Hans von Campenhausen, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (Tübingen, 1968), trans. J.A. Baker, *The Formation of the Christian Bible* (Philadelphia, 1972). More recently, see Jed Wyrick, *The Ascension of Authorship: Attribution and Canon Formation in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian Traditions* (Cambridge, MA, 2004).

[65] Whereas in the Greek church the canon had closed after Chalcedon; see Patrick Gray, "The Select Fathers: Canonizing the Patristic Past," *Studia Patristica* 23 (1989), 21–36.

[66] See n. 25, above.

[67] Walter Berschin, "Lateinische Literatur aus St. Gallen," in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter*, pp. 109–117, 244–48, at pp. 113–14: Notker's *Notatio de illustribus viris* represents "der einzige Versuch der karolingischen Epoche, die altehrwürdige, auf Hieronymus zurückgehende Tradition der christlichen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung *De viris illustribus* fortzusetzen."

"countless books," and, indeed, to "his thousand other books."[68] Notker was not insensible to the paralysing effect his recitation of so many authors and so many texts might have on his readers. Near the end of the first letter he wrote, "If you wish to know all the writers of the church, you will consume yourself in fruitless labour, since from today until the end of the world, there will always be those who can write useful things."[69] For that reason, if not for any other, it was time to think about closing the canon.

In monasteries, courts, and cathedrals across early Europe, scholars gave sustained attention to the deposit of patristic materials that had survived from late antiquity (see Plate 1). The men of the ninth century were responsible for the production of a remarkable number of new manuscripts and for the formation, in their own and other institutions, of impressive and sometimes highly idiosyncratic collections of the writings of the Fathers of the Church. To a great extent, their actions were governed by their own priorities: the reading of Sacred Scripture, the conduct of monastic life. Yet the body of texts they left behind was surprisingly capacious.

There would be another intense phase in the making and gathering of patristic texts at the end of the eleventh century, and it would continue through the twelfth.[70] The patristic movement of the high Middle Ages was more broadly based, because it included England as well as the continent.[71]

[68] *Notatio*, lines 118–24, ed. Rauner, "Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio de illustribus uiris'," p. 63: "Augustinus in libris innumeris, quos conscripsit….et in aliis mille libris ipsius…" Also *Notatio*, lines 232–33, p. 67: "ex innumeris sancti Augustini et aliorum patrum libris…" In the early Middle Ages references to Augustine's prolixity were not always intended as compliments; see Steven Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (Leeds, 1990), pp. 158–59. I am indebted to Alexander C. Murray for the reference.

[69] *Notatio*, lines 187–89, ed. Rauner, "Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio de illustribus uiris'," p. 65: "Quod si omnes scriptores ecclesiasticos scire desideras, inani labore tabescis, cum hodieque et usque in finem saeculi non desint, qui utilia scribere possint."

[70] For a survey of the manuscripts in their cultural context, see Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 212–23 ("From the tenth to the twelfth century"). Bischoff observes on p. 218: "The twelfth century … marks a second highpoint after the carolingian era for the transmission of many classical authors & patristic literature …"

[71] Anglo-Saxon book collections seem to have been modest in comparison with those on the continent. See Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 58–60, and pp. 275–342 ("Catalogue of Classical and Patristic Authors and Works Composed before AD 700 and Known in Anglo-Saxon England"). Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075– c.1125* (Oxford, 1992), p. 32, comments: "Manuscripts containing patristic texts, which can be shown to have been copied in, or imported to, England before the Conquest form only a small proportion of the items in the handlist of manuscripts copied or present in England before 1100, compiled by H. Gneuss." A similar conclusion is reached by

By the end of the eleventh century, across Europe, "the works of the Fathers, both in full as well as in collections of extracts, were being subjected to analytical scrutiny for all sorts of purposes, intellectual and polemical as well as devotional and ethical."[72] Certainly, the later period saw an expansion of the patristic base for canon law, especially on the continent.[73] But the patristic researches of the high Middle Ages, and the patristic studies of every era since, were, in the first instance, made possible by the work undertaken in the Carolingian scriptoria.

This essay began with the familiar image of dwarfs seated on the shoulders of giants, an image confected by Bernard of Chartres. Bernard was being self-deprecatory, in the graceful manner of his age. To take him literally, and to see him and his contemporaries as no more than guardians of an ancient legacy, would be an error. Medieval scholars did not inherit any sort of tradition. The tradition took shape slowly – in the courts and monasteries, scriptoria and libraries of early Europe. And the process by which it happened is worth exploring, because it shows us how the thinkers of the early Middle Ages acted to generate knowledge of the past and, as a consequence, to establish a canon of authority.

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David Ganz, "Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol. 1: To 1640*, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge, 2006), 91–108, at pp. 94–96.

[72] Teresa Webber, "The Diffusion of Augustine's Confessions in England during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford, 1996), pp. 29–45, at p. 41. See also Webber, "The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective," in *Of the Making of Books. Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays presented to M.B. Parkes*, ed. Pamela Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 191–205; and Webber, "Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections in the late Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries*, 1:109–25, at pp. 111–15.

[73] This has probably been the most widely studied aspect of the phenomenon. See Martin Brett, "Canon Law and Litigation: The Century before Gratian," *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen*, ed. M.J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 21–40.